A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BILINGUALISM IN

ANIMAL'S PEOPLE AND GIFTED

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ABSTRACT

The present article focuses on the concepts needed to understand what it means for two languages to come into contact. It deals with some of the principles which are required to take an account of how people mix language in creative writings. It encompasses the complex phenomenon of the creative language and code mixing in detail. The focus is on when and why the speaker or writer feels the need to mix lexical items and linguistic features of two different codes in a sentence, how a speaker handles these languages simultaneously and what crucial features are needed in code-mixing. The study of code-mixing proves extremely beneficial, especially when the reader and writer are from different social background because their cultural is very different from the rest of the society. In cross-cultural communication people have to switch to other code on demand of the situation ie when the equivalent word in target language does not reflect exactly the same meaning that is conveyed in the mother tongue or for conveying a specific cultural meaning.

KEYWORDS: Multicultural Communication, Grammaticalness, Interpretability, Constraint, Intrasentential, Inter-Sentential, Lexical Borrowing

INTRODUCTION

BILINGUALISM: CONCEPTS AND DEFINITION

Language contact inevitably leads to bilingualism. The terms bilingual and bilingualism can be applied to situations where two or more languages are involved. Bilingualism begins at the point where the speaker of one language can produce meaningful utterances in the other language. *Bilingualism as a term has open-ended semantics* [1] comments Baetens Beardsmore. For the average speaker, bilingualism can be loosely defined as the use of two languages or the native-like control of two languages. At the heart of the description of bilingualism is the issue of degree of bilingualism, it refers to the levels of linguistic proficiency which a bilingual must achieve in both languages to be considered a bilingual.

Bloomfield defined bilingualism as *native-like control of two languages* [2], while, in contrast, Mackey defined bilingualism as *the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual* [3]. In a similar vein Mackey, Weinreich defined bilingualism as *the practice of alternately using two language* [4] while Haugen proposed *the point where a speaker can first produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language* [5] to be a starting point for defining bilingualism. As can be seen, these definitions range from Bloomfield's rigorous expectations of totally balanced bilingualism to Mackey's and Haugen's looser requirements of mere ability or the practice of using two languages. Baetens Beardsmore described these two extremes as minimalist (Mackey, Weinreich) and maximalist (Bloomfield) in approach. Haugen's view could also be considered minimalist,

Though the discussion of how bilingualism should be defined has often centred on the issue of language competence, this focus overlooks other socio-cultural and cognitive factors which are just as relevant when discussing the

performance of bilinguals. Bilingualism needs to account for how bilinguals utilize and interact with the resources in the community.

In the present study both the novelists Sinha and Lalwani belong to India. Here especially Sinha has studied Hindi, Sanskrit and English. Sinha, after living in England for four decades, he and his wife migrated to southern France. In his novel *Animal's People,* Sinha depicts the sordid and pathetic condition of the residents of fictionalized town Khaufpur that was made unfortunate by an accident happened and Khaufpur was devastated by a chemical leak at a factory owned by an American firm. So the Americans are also present in their society as the members of a relief team. At present Lalwani is living in London but in her novel *Gifted* she depicts the story of an immigrant family of India and the family members who visit India frequently. So Language contact was inevitable and it leads to bilingualism. In both the novels there is bilingual speech involving extensive codes witching or code mixing.

CODE

Code is a term which is used instead of language, speech variety, or dialect. People also use 'code' when they want to stress the uses of a language or language variety in a particular community. For example the user who has got his or her education in bilingual culture may have two codes viz. mother tongue and second language. It is any system of signals which can be used for sending a message. A natural language is an example of a code. The bilingual users use two languages when they speak to other bilinguals in in-group conversations. Sometimes they mix their languages within the same sentence, often by introducing an element from a second language into a first language utterance. In this particular sub-type of mixing process that is referred to as insertional mixing, grammatical or functional elements tend to occur from the base language they are speaking and only lexical or content elements can come from the second or inserted or embedded language. Thus the terms 'code-mixing' and 'code-switching' are to use more than one code in a particular situation. Recently, both the terms have been used on a grand scale all over the world. Each individual has some degree of choice about how to use and respond to the contexts in which he or she finds himself or herself. In multicultural communication or writing considerable resources are expended on ensuring that interlocutors do have a shared linguistic code in their repertoires, and commercial enterprises value employees who are fluent in several languages. Thus, there is a growing recognition of this common habit (to use more than one code in a particular situation) and it necessarily leads to shared understanding and cultural identity. It is hopped that all these causal usages of mixing cannot be due to chance; there must be something that matters. Whether the mixture occurs due to the word finding difficulty or specific cultural pressure it conveys the message more emphatically. The more their usages have been done the more complex these have become.

Both the terms code-mixing and code-switching are full of terminological confusion. Researchers use the same terms in different ways, or give different names to the same phenomena. In fact, there is some overlap and confusion about the uses of the terms 'code-switching'*,* 'code-mixing', 'code-alternation'*,* and 'borrowing'. Code-mixing and code-switching are two facets of the same coin, the former occurs in a written discourse while the latter occurs in a spoken discourse.

Code-Mixing

It is the concurrence of lexical items and linguistic features of two different codes in a sentence. Code mixing can involve various levels of language, e.g. phonology, morphology, grammatical structures or lexical items. It is often a mark

of solidarity. Code-mixing, includes socio-linguistic, pragmatic and grammatical aspects. Muysken applies the *term code-mixing to refer to all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence.*[6]

Code-Switching

It is the concurrence of two languages in a speech event. It is a discourse strategy and a speech style. It is a type of shift by a speaker from one language or language variety to another one. Code switching can take place in a conversation when one speaker uses one language and the other speaker responds in a different language. A person may start speaking one language and then change to another one in the middle of their speech, or sometimes even in the middle of a sentence. Muysken is of the opinion that *the more commonly used term code-switching will be reserved for the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event*[7]. Elsewhere Milroy and Muysken define code-switching as *the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation*[8]. Furthermore, in his typology for language mixing Muysken claims that *switching is only an appropriate term for the alternation type of mixing*[9]. Grosjean, who has a psycho-linguistic approach to language mixing, considers code-switching as *a complete shift from one language to the other, either for a word, a phrase or a whole sentence.*[10]

Elucidating the term code-switching by focusing on the competence of the speaker in both pragmatic and grammatical aspects of the languages involved, Meisel states that;

Code-switching is the ability to select the language according to the interlocutor, the situational context, the topic of conversation, and so forth, and to change languages within an interactional sequence in accordance with sociolinguistic rules and without violating specific grammatical constraints.[11]

Beebe emphasizes that code switching *occurs not only between languages, but between dialects of the same language.*[12] Gumperz states that code switching refers to *the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub systems.*[13] Thus it is clear that code switching can occur in varieties of the same language. B. B. Kachru (in his *The Indianization of English: The English language in India,* 1983) as well as R. Singh (in his 'Grammatical constraints on code-switching: Evidence from Hindi-English', 1985) distinguishing the terms code-switching and code-mixing says that the former occurs in inter-sentential switches while the latter occurs in intra-sentential switches. (The term inter-sentential and intra-sentential switches are to be discussed a few lines forwards.) They claim that this is a necessary distinction because code-mixing requires the integration of the syntactic rules of both languages, whereas plain code-switching does not. Finally, because code-switching is often discussed in sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic contexts it is good to reserve it for the phenomenon of spoken discourse and code-mixing for written discourse.

SCENARIOS OF SWITCHING

There are at least five ways in which switching could potentially take place.

Through convergence

Through cultural influence and lexical borrowing

Through second-language learning

Through relexification

Through imitation of prestige patterns

Convergence

In a situation in which several languages have been spoken in the same area and mostly by the same people for a long time they may start converging. This convergence is most apparent on the phonetic level: the sound systems of languages may grow to be more and more similar, without clear influence in one direction. What this means is that words are borrowed in fairly abstract shape, which is then mapped onto the sound patterns of the language. The residents of Khaufpur in *Animal's People* speak mostly the local dialect related to Khaufpuri, the narrator is the master of speaking English and French and the Americans speak English. Thus here is the amalgamation more than two languages and the result of this is switching. That is why Animal, Chunaram and other residents of Khaufpur who know only Khaufpuri speak English words though phonologically adapted at times eg.

Whole nother worldit's, below the waist.[14] (*Animal's People* 2)

I'm not supposed to let on that I know some Inglis. (*Animal's People* 4)

Inside is the tape mashin and many tapes, (*Animal's People* 10)

an ulcer came on his leg. (*Animal's People* 12)

fillim tunes are more my choice, (*Animal's People* 94)

Says this granny, 'We have looked upon the milke and it semeth to muche thinne and watry. Plus it enclyneth to reddenesse, which is unnaturall and euill. Likewise, it tasteth bitter, ye may well perceyue it is unwholesome.' (*Animal's People* 94)

Cultural Influence and Lexical Borrowing

A very important scenario for borrowing is through cultural influence. The most important effect of this type of influence is lexical borrowing. The complete list from Sinha's *Animal's People* may be very long yet some are these; *beedi* for leaf –rolled cigarette, *bhel-puri* for a popular street snack, *chaar sau bees* for cheating, *chuna lagaana*, for to deceive, *dikhlot* for good looking, *galla mandi* for vegetable market, *ghurr- ghurr* for to stare, *garooli* for cigarette, *goonda* for thug, *guftagoo* for conversation, *kameez* for long loose shirt, *jhadoo* for household broom, *kheer* for a milky pudding, *kushti* for wrestling, *kyo kha* for friend, *pandu* for contemptuous name for a policeman, *raakhee* for a token tied by a girl on the wriest of a boy she regards as a brother, *saala* for bloody, *sherwani* for a fancy embroidered tunic, *zapaat* for long and thin nose, *raal tapkana* for to stare and so on.

Also Lalwani is not legging in the same area of cultural borrowing. She uses *desi* for Indian, *charpoy* for bed, *badi* for elder, *beti* for daughter, *gore* for Englishman, *chachi* for father's brother's wife, *chacha* for father's brother, *bhajis, dhoklas* for snack dish and so on.

.....'give us a garooli' means cigarette. (*Animal's People* 55)

Relexification

It is the replacement of the vocabulary of one language with that of another language, while maintaining the original grammar. It would be beneficial to briefly mention here that sometimes it is not quite possible to maintain the original grammar in the process of relexification, particularly if words from new language are introduced as well.

AFTER that it became a sweet shop, rasgullas and gulab jamuns were fried there in big pans (Animal's People 68)

Feed him some ice-cream some gulab jamun.[15] (Gifted 165)

Language Acquisition and Substrate

In order to explain how daughter languages came to diverge widely from the mother language some scholars have appealed to substrate influence. When a language is brought into another region than that of its original use, and when speakers of other languages in that region adopt it as their second language, because of its cultural and political prestige, then the original language of these speakers may influence the new language in various ways.

In the novel *Animal's People* Animal speaks only the local dialect (Khaufpuri) and even not Hindi proper but thanks to Ma who speaks French Animal now can speak French the language that is brought into from another region ie Franch to Khaufpur.

Je ne suis pas un homme, mais un animal

dans cet hopital je ne trouve rien de mal. (Animal's People 167)

In the novel *Gifted* Rumi who is English by birth and does not know Hindi but when she comes India, her attachment with Honey compels her to learn Hindi love songs;

Mera khoya hua rangeen nazaara de de

Mere mehboob, tujhe

Meri mohabhat ki kasam. (Gifted 172)

Imitation of Prestige Language Patterns

In addition to the four scenarios discussed so far, we find cases in which sentence patterns of complex expressions of a prestige language are imitated. This scenario is by necessity limited to fairly superficial phenomena.

'Do you know *Tum Se Achchha Kaun Hai?* (*Animal's People* 94)

….a grave and beautiful voice singing, Kaun Aayaa Mere Mun Ke Dvaare. (*Animal's People* 131)

Types of Code-Mixing

There are several variations in code-mixing. There cannot be a single model of code-mixing. But the basic types are as follows;

Intrasentential Code Mixing

This type of code-mixing is said to occur within a sentence.

Listen to this sadak chhaap giving orders to his elders and betters.(*Animal's People* 89).

Listen to this uncultured giving orders to his elders and betters.

When I am gone, what will you live on? She replied, 'har ek warak mein tum hi tum ho jaan-e-mehboobi, hum apne dil mein kuch aaisi kitaab rakhte hain.' (*Animal's People* 84).

When I am gone, what will you live on? She replied, 'On every page there are you and only you, oh love of my life, it's this book I keep in my heart'.

The exit is framed lazily by khaki-clad guards, who chew paan and stare freely at them. (*Gifted* 26)

The exit is framed lazily by khaki-clad guards, who chew betel leaf and stare freely at them.

Sturdy leather chappals cradling his feet. (Gifted 157)

Sturdy leather sandal cradling his feet.

Inter-Sentential Code-Mixing

This type of switching occurs during a span of text from sentence to sentence or between sentences or at sentence boundaries.

Achchha Jaanvar. Et toi? (*Animal's People* 39)

Then slowly he'll start to grin. Kyon Kha, aaj kahaan chaloge? (*Animal's People* 50).

Then slowly he'll start to grin. So, brother, where to today?

Well, what else happened on that night? Nous sommers le people de I'Apokalis' (*Animal's People* 63).

Yes, I enjoyed. Bahut zyaada mazza ayaa. I enjoyed a lot. (*Gifted* 164)

Azaadi. Like Indian Independence Day. (*Gifted* 167)

Freedom. Like Indian Independence Day.

Tag-Switching is a term that refers to a mix involving an utterance and an interjection (or tag). It involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance that is otherwise entirely in the other language.

Animal's a nickname, na? (*Animal's People* 23).

Animal's a nickname, isn't it?

It is close, na? (*Gifted* 165)

It is close, isn't it?

Lexical borrowing

Is generally a borrowing of a lexical item from other language to the matrix language. However, distinguishing borrowing from code-switching is a difficult activity. In practice, however, it may not be so simple to distinguish between them. The classical view is that code mixing and borrowing can easily be kept apart: with code mixing the non-native items are not adapted morphologically and phonologically, with borrowing they are. This view is problematic for at least two reasons; first, there may be different degrees of phonological adaptation for borrowed items, second it is not evident that all non-adapted items are clearly cases of code mixing. Some authors reserve the borrowing for only a certain type of words, namely, those with a specific cultural meaning or prestige. Owing to the semantic factors, such as when the equivalent word in target language does not reflect exactly the same meaning that it does in the mother tongue. To Milroy and Muysken it is *taking a word or short expression from other language (usually phonologically or morphologically)*

adapting it to the base language.[16] Gumperz is of the views that *the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into another*[17] is a matter of lexical borrowing. Following examples can be considered for the purpose;

> *It's not one of my usual dirty dabas* (*Animal's People* 18).

> *These girls are sitting at a table under a tree, drinking lassi.* (*Animal's People* 08).

> *Some girls primp themselves up like film stars with kajal round the eyes*,… (*Animal's People* 08).

> *They were bossed by an old bugger in a lungi who chain-smoked two bundles of beedis a day* (Animal's People 68).

> *This saala, old and fat he's…* (*Animal's People* 56).

> *Black kajol thick on their lower eyelids.* (*Gifted* 32)

> *That was how tall bottles of Bislery water appeared miraculously for 'the little maharani' to drink…* (*Gifted* 34)

Grammaticality of Code Mixing

The good use of language consists in choosing the appropriate symbolisation of the experience one wishes to convey, from among all the possible words. Though, the meaning of these possible words may be the same but only roughly the same. Symbolisation aims at realization, in other words, for conveying a particular view the writer or speaker by symbolizing chooses a word but this word must realize the very view of the writer or speaker. In example; *This saala, old and fat he's…* the word *saala* is used for abuse. If it is translated into English which is the matrix language of the sentence as 'brother-in-law' the very sting of the abuse will certainly lose. And thus it will fail to satisfy the expectations aroused by the literary structure of which it is a part.

In order to explain the restrictions that exist on intra-sentential code switching it is the first requirement to state one's knowledge regarding the relationship between the grammars, speaker-hearer's bilingual linguistic knowledge, as well as the mental processes involved in the producing and understanding bilingual speech. Code-mixing is not just the random mixing of two languages and this linguistic behaviour must be controlled by certain principles, certainly there must be clear syntactic restrictions on where the mixing can take place, which item can occur in mixing and how it can be achieved? Here the views sound contrary to Labov's who defines code-switching as *the irregular mixture of two distinct systems.*[18] Recent studies on the mixture of two languages have at least one common assumption, viz., that there are syntactic restrictions on this particular style.

Code-mixing from a grammatical perspective is defined as the embedding of grammatical information or structure from two or more languages within the same syntactic unit, usually within the sentence but also within phrasal level constituents. Grammatical structure and other syntactic information are elicited by the word order configuration of constituents in a sentence, by morphemes and specific lexical items. Thus the process requires advance knowledge of the syntax and ability to communicate in two languages concerned with close to native proficiency.

What is crucial in code-mixing is the manner in which two languages are stored, organized and accessed during the mixing process and their relatedness. In order to understand the phenomenon more clearly it would be helpful to examine the points in the mixing process where the grammars either harmonize with or differ from each other.

The field of code mixing has largely concentrated on finding universally applicable, predictive grammatical constraints on code mixing, but so far we are without success.

Among the precursors of the study of code-mixing as a phenomenon that obeys a stringent set of rules is Timm (1975) who identified five constraints on code switching which can undergo code-mixing, i.e. switching does not occur within noun phrases containing nouns and modifying adjectives, between negation and the verb, between a verb and its auxiliary, between finite verbs and their infinitival complements, and between pronominal subjects and their verbs. Timm argued that (a) switches do not occur between pronominal subjects and object and the finite verbs to which they belong, in other words subject and object pronouns must be in the same language as the main verb so the following mixing are not possible.

vaha went.

He went.

mai laughed.

I laughed.

ve praise.

They praise.

He ja raha hai.

 He is going.

Ram looks at use.

Ram looks at her.

- Between verbs and negative elements code-mixing does not occur.

 He doesn't intajar.

 He doesn't wait.

- Timm also proposed that in verb phrases containing auxiliaries code-mixing does not occur or in other words an auxiliary and a main verb, or a main verb and an infinitive must be in the same language.

 He must intajar.

 He must wait.

 She is ga rahi hai.

 She is singing.

 He has kha liya hai.

 He has eaten.

 He went to sone.

He went to sleep.

However in Lipski's observation the occasional exceptions to the switches in (c) occur, but he assumes that it is impossible *to switch between the article and the noun.*[19]

- *Then someone said try the gala mandi.* (*Animal's People* 26)

Then someone said try the vegetable market.

- *Each morning I would creep out of the factory to do my work in the basti* (*Animal's People* 32).

Each morning I would creep out of the factory to do my work in the village/poor community.

- *Badi helps the priest walk across to the charpoy and sit down*. (*Gifted* 29)

The elder helps the priest walk across to the bed and sit down.

.…Hot chapattis for the rest of them, straight from the tava, (*Gifted* 164)

….Hot pieces of bread for the rest of them, straight from the griddle,

.….The pallu of her sari flying behind her, just like this, you know. (*Gifted* 51)

- …..The hem of her sari flying behind her, just like this, you know

Rumi watched a yellow and black auto-rickshaw purr up to a paan seller below (*Gifted* 162)

Rumi watched a yellow and black auto-rickshaw purr up to a betel leaf seller below

The above examples, (a) to (f) are problematic with respect to the violation of code-switching constraints because the articles are from matrix language i.e. English and the noun *gala mandi, basti, charpoy, tava, pallu,* and *paan* are from the switched dialec000000t and language.

THE THEORY OF EQUIVALENCE CONSTRAINT

Poplack is the main proponent of the linear order in mixing of two languages. She claims that mixing mostly can occur when there is an equivalent order of the constituents in both the languages. The Equivalence Constraint permits switches only if word order of the two languages converges. The structure of the two languages involved must be equivalent, and the switching point must be possible in both grammars, otherwise no switching is allowed. She accounts for the following restriction on code-mixing;

Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, that is, at points around which the surface structure of the two languages map *onto each other.*[20]

Poplack proposes an additional restriction, the **Free Morpheme Constraint** which disallows switches that involve bound morphemes:

Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme.[21]

Thus code-mixing both before and after a bound morpheme is prohibited. The **Free Morpheme Constraint** permits no word-internal switches. Hence, the following examples are considered as ill-formed;

He can surely feel me raal tapkoing the back of his neck (*Animal's People* 53).

He can surely feel me staring the back of his neck (raal tapkana means to drool, but in Khaufpur to stare).

The woman begins gupping with the kids, (*Animal's People* 53).

The woman begins shooting the breeze with the kids

But you have to be careful, ma-in-law's. (*Animal's People* 113).

But you have to be careful, mother-in-law's.

So far as the mixing of Hindi and English is concerned, the theory of **Equivalence Constraint** seems to be vulnerable because on the one hand it predicts switches only between languages which are typologically very similar, that is, languages with the same surface structure while Hindi and English are very dissimilar with respect to word order. English has an SVO pattern while Hindi has SOV pattern. On the other hand it is not formulated in terms of structural or hierarchical relations between the elements, but only according to linear sequences. Further more such types of constructions sound basically to be correct so far as their occurring-frequency in post colonial literature is concerned.

THE THEORY OF GOVERNMENT CONSTRAINT

A more analytical approach i.e. **The Government Constraint** was introduced by Di Sciullo (1986) and was developed by Muysken (1991). It is an attempt to account for two observations about code-mixing. In the first place, the absence of code-mixing between elements with a certain structural coherence; and secondly, the tendency not to code-mix when there is an incompatibility between grammars.

This constraint permits no occurrence of mixing whenever government holds. In contrast to the **Equivalence Constraint**, the **Government Constraint** aims at constraining mixing structurally rather than linearly. No mixing can occur between two elements that have a lexical dependency. The theory of the Government Constraint argues that code-mixing is controlled by the government relation that exists between the constituents within a statement. This idea is grounded in Chomsky's **X-bar theory**. There the relation between the head and its complement points out the feature of dependency; the head projects its features within the phrase, and therefore has a direct impact on its immediate complements.

Thus, Di Sciullo, Muysken & Singh formulate the following restriction;

X governs Y if the first node dominating X also dominates Y, where X is a major category N, V, A, P and no maximal boundary intervenes between X and Y.[22]

Thus according to the Government Constraint Theory the mixing between a verb and an object, between a preposition and its head word, and between a verb and its clausal complement are ill-formed.

- *They stood in the galli outside her house* (*Animal's People* 85).

  - They stood in the street outside her house

- *My heart thuds like a dholak thrashed by a monkey* (*Animal's People* 77).

  - My heart thuds like a double ended drum thrashed by a monkey.

- *'A child of the poison,' says the mullah of medicine*. (*Animal's People* 59).

    - 'A child of the poison,' says the doctor.

- *Like a chaste bindi, the type worn by maidens in the years before marriage*. (*Gifted* 161)

- *Who chew paan and stare freely at them*. (*Gifted* 26)

    - Who chew betel leaf and stare freely at them.

- *They join badi at the altar* (*Gifted* 26)

    - They join the elder at the altar

- *What are you talking, yaar?* (*Gifted* 162)

    - What are you talking, friend?

Example (a) and (b) are problematic because according to the traditional view the nouns are the heads of the phrases, so the determiners in these kinds of switches should not be from English, but from Hindi. In example (c) the head noun is from Urdu viz *mullah* so the pre-modifier i.e. *the* and the post-modifier prepositional phrase i.e. *of medicine* should not be from English, but from Urdu. In example (d) the head noun is from Hindi viz *bindi* so the pre-modifier i.e. *a* and *chaste* should not be from English, but from Hindi. The examples (e) and (f) are problematic because the mixing between a verb and an object, in (e) the verb is in English *chew* but the object is in Hindi *paan* and in (f) the verb is in English *join* but the object is in Hindi *badi*. Consequently, these sentences are said to be ill-formed, because the **Government Constraint** disallows switches between the head and its complement.

In later works, Muysken suggests a more restricted definition of **Government Constraint**, so that it accounts only for lexical but not for functional heads. *In code-mixed sentences, functional category elements come from one language, while lexical categories may come from the other one*.[23] But the occurring-frequency of such examples of code-mixing in post colonial literature again confirms the vulnerability of this theory also. Even, Muysken himself admits that the **Government Constraint** is still inadequately formulated, since there are too many counter-examples.

THE THEORY OF FUNCTIONAL HEAD CONSTRAINT

Like the **Government Constraint**, Belazi, Rubin & Toribio (1994) formulate a new notion which involves the notion of government and structural dependency. In it a switch is not supposed to occur between a functional head and its complement. Consider the following definition of the Functional Head Constraint;

Functional Head Constraint The language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of that functional head.[24]

- *There is a word LISTEN, which means khaamush*, (*Animal's People* 48).

- *BUT you can't fight whatever is written in your Kismet*. (*Gifted* 80).

- *He felt a rumble in his stomach as the bhajis fermented,* (*Gifted* 7).

The examples (a) to (c) are considered to be ungrammatical, because the language of the complementizer (any of a set of clause-introducing words) is not the language of the complement clause but it is language of the governing verb

that protects them to be ungrammatical. In (a) The complementizer i.e. *which* is from English while the complement clause is partly in English and partly in Urdu but the language of governing verb is the language of complementizer . In (b) the complementizer i.e. *whatever* is from English while the complement clause is partly in English and partly in Hindi but again here the language of governing verb is the language of complementizer. In (c) the complementizer i.e. *as* is from English while the complement clause is partly in English and partly in Hindi but here also the language of governing verb is the language of complementizer. Thus the switching is according to **Government Constraint** viz, that the complementizer can be from the language which is different from the language of the embedded clause, but that it must be from the same language as the governing verb.

Their additional notion of **language feature** stops the switch if it is ungrammatical, for example, if the functional head and its complement are not of the same language. Toribio again states in favour of the **Functional Head Constraint**, reaffirming that;

A functional head and its complement must be drawn from the same sub-class of items in the lexicon, precluding switching between functional elements (e.g., MOD/AUX, NEG, and COMP) and their f-selected complements.[25]

Thus the following switch is ungrammatical.

Rumi has yad kar liya usaka path.

Rumi has learnt her lesson.

The mixing can be fulfilled as follows;

Rumi has learnt usaka path.

Rumi has learnt her lesson.

THE MATRIX LANGUAGE FRAME MODEL

It is an attempt at an abstract grammatical frame that contributes to the morpho-syntactic structure for an utterance. It was proposed by Myers-Scotton and colleagues. The model is based on the distinction of the Matrix and the Embedded Language on the one hand, and the system and content morphemes on the other hand. An important restriction is the **Universal Structure Principle** (Jake, Myers-Scotton and Gross 2002), which claims that there is a hierarchy in the two languages. The authors argue that in any mixed utterance it is possible to distinguish between a Matrix Language, and an Embedded Language, and outline a *basic asymmetry between the two languages participating in CS.*[26] The base language is also known as the Matrix Language and the other language included in the interaction is the Embedded Language. The Matrix Language hence builds a frame in which elements from the Embedded Language are switched into, ending up with a mixed utterance. Thus, Myers-Scotton defines code switching as *the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation.*[27] She states that the Matrix Language is the main language in a code switching utterance. According to her, the term Embedded Language refers to the other languages which are also participating in code switching, but with a lesser role. These languages are also called the '*guest*' and the '*host*' language or the '*recipient*' and the '*donor*' language by Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) and Johanson (1993) respectively.

To understand the theory and application of Matrix Language is a difficult task. In the Matrix Language Frame model, the Matrix Language is said to *provide the morphosyntactic frame of the utterance*.[28] In earlier versions of the model, the main criterion was the number of morphemes; the language that provides more morphemes is the Matrix Language. It is supposed to provide **system morphemes** to an utterance (and system morphemes are said to be similar to functional elements by Jake, Myers-Scotton & Gross 2002:72). Myers-Scotton distinguishing between the system morpheme and content morpheme says that most *function words are system morphemes and they have features (- thematic roles receiver/assigner) and often (+ quantification). Most nouns, adjectives (+ thematic role receiver) and most verbs and some prepositions (+ thematic role assigner) are content morphemes*.[29] This criterion relies heavily on counting the number of morphemes within a discourse. In it the matrix constituent order and matrix language functional categories are thought to dominate a clause, furthermore the content morpheme can be inserted into mixed constituents, when congruent with the matrix language categories, while the functional can not.

Auer and the like researchers who choose the conversational-analytic approach to code switching refer to the original language of conversation the base language. Jacomine Nortier calls the language of individual sentence base language and the language of the whole interaction Matrix Language. Psycholinguists would tell the base language; the language in which the speaker is most proficient. But this is not a true touchstone of it, because proficiency is not always clearly definable. A statistician would refer to the frequency of words or morphemes while a grammarian seeks the elements which 'guide' the sentence (grammatical morphemes, governing verbs etc). Arguments have been made for and against the existence of base language. Therefore, it is clear that determining the base language in many existing models depends on the choice of a unit of analysis Muysken points out that even if the answer is yes, *defining the base language is not an easy task*.[30]

Three Processes of Mixing/Muyskenian Theory

Muysken (2000) distinguishes three different processes in the study of code-mixing and he also claims that these processes correspond to other models already found in the code-mixing. The three processes are **insertion, alternation,** and **congruent lexicalization.** These processes are basically reserved for intrasentential code-mixing. Also these three approaches correspond to different phenomena; insertion is into a matrix or base language, alteration is between languages, and congruent lexicalization is in the code-mixing data reported in literature.

Insertion is, when elements from one language are mixed (inserted) into another language. In it a word or phrase from other language (the language from the mixing item is chosen) is mixed into a linguistic segment of a sentence of base or matrix language (a sentence can have more than one segment). To quote Muysken, it is *insertion of material (lexical items or entire constituents) from one language into a structure from the other language.*[31] This notion implies the existence of a matrix structure and it is akin to the theory of Matrix Language in Myers-Scotton (1993), which provides the base or matrix structure into which the element can be mixed. This process of code-mixing has some similarity to the lexical borrowing, but whereas borrowing only covers the insertion of lexical items, insertion can imply larger structures, such as whole phrases. There may be different items allowed in the process of insertion viz. phonetic shapes, lexical meaning and morphosyntax. Some examples of insertion are as follows;

Chunaram has other things to do, he has a chai shop to run (*Animal's People* 04).

Chunaram has other things to do, he has a tea shop to run.

I catch his thoughts, badmaash boy, (*Animal's People* 08).

I catch his thoughts, naughty boy,

"No, am Indian, my heart is desi." (*Gifted* 12)

No, am Indian, my heart is Indian.

She always calls him Bhaiya. (*Gifted* 36)

She always calls him brother.

In different languages, different items are allowed in the mixing process but the notable frequency in many languages is that of either adverbial phrases or nouns or noun phrases. Meri Lehtinen's following quote focuses out which item can be chosen for mixing.

In order for any intra-sentence code switching to be possible at all, there must exist in the two languages some constructions which are in some sense similar, so that certain syntactic items from each language are equivalent to each other in specific ways. Further reflection, supported by an examination of the corpus, shows that the similarities must exist in what is known as the 'surface grammar' of the sentence…. It would seem, then that switching at words which belong to a closed class is not allowed by the code switching rules, except in cases where such a switch is forced by structural considerations. (153-177)

Alternation is when a linguistic segment of matrix or base language is followed by a linguistic segment of other language (the language from the mixing item is chosen). In it code-switching is allowed under equivalence and involves an analysis of the structural compatibility of two languages, in the sense of equivalence between them at a given switching point. This approach associates with Poplack's theory (1980). This is the only case that Muysken regards as code-switching, because it is only here that the languages are truly alternated. In this type of mixing elements from a language are not just inserted into another (base) language, but involve both grammar and lexicon. To quote Muysken *Switching is only an appropriate term for the alternational type of mixing…. In the case of alternation, there is a true switch from one language to the other, involving both grammar and lexicon. Alternation is just a special case of code switching, as it takes place between utterances in a turn or between turns.*[32] Thus it can take place within a clause as well. In it the switched item has to comply with rules to the supposed matrix constituent. In the following examples (a), (b), (c) and (d) of mixing there seems no reason for thinking that the Hindi segments are embedded in the English segments or vice versa because both the segments(from English and Hindi) involve an analysis of the structural compatibility of two languages.

- *Sun's well up, from far off a radio is playing the song, Ek tu jo milaa,*(*Animal's People* 21).

    - Sun's well up, from far off a radio is playing the song, meeting you I meet the whole world.

- *In Khaufpur we have an expression, kya main Hindi mein samjhaun?* (*Animal's People* 47).

    - In Khaufpur we have an expression, should I say it in Hindi?

- *Like in the song, zulfein hain jaise kandhon pe baadal jhuke hue.* (*Animal's People* 67).

    - Like in the song, dark hair rests like a cloud on her shoulder.

- *Kya problem hai tere mein?* (*Gifted* 94)

- What is wrong with you?

In the following example (a) the Hindi word *nala* is mixed into the sentence of English language. The word *nala* is similar to 'an open drainage canal' and it is a unique constituent of the matrix as it is the subject of the subordinate clause. It does seem to comply with rules to the supposed matrix constituent because being the singular noun it allows the inflection 's' into the main verb *flows* like the matrix language. In (b) the Hindi word *gore* is mixed into the sentence of English language. The word *gore* is similar to 'white' and it is a unique constituent of the matrix as it is the complement of the subject. It does seem to comply with rules to the supposed matrix constituent because in English we use the definite article 'the' with white to denote the Englishman here also the rule of the matrix language is followed as the definite article 'the' is used with Hindi word *gore*.

- See the flashes where the *nala* flows? (*Animal's People* 31).

  See the flashes where the open drainage canal flows?

- *You are becoming like the gore*. (*Gifted* 94)

  You are becoming like the White.

Congruent Lexicalization

Is a shared linguistic structure of the matrix or base language and other language (the language from the mixing item is chosen). In it mixing is achieved randomly. It is the type of mixing which calls for socio-linguistic constraints. It involves material from different lexicons in a grammatical structure which is said to be shared. Thus it is the study of either typologically similar languages, or in language mixing within a dialect and a standard variety. To quote Muysken. *The term Congruent Lexicalization refers to a situation where the two languages share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language…. In this perspective Congruent Lexicalization is akin to style or register shifting and monolingual linguistic variation*.[33] In it the switched item need not comply with rules to the supposed matrix constituent. In the following sentence (a) *Kyon Kha* and sentence (b) *Sadda Miyan ki tond* which are from the local dialect are switched into the sentences of Hindi language and English language which are the base languages.

- *Kyon Kha, aaj kahaan chaloge?* (*Animal's Peopl,* 50).

  So, brother, where to today?

- *Hey you, standing there like a fucking Sadda Miyan ki tond, what the   fuck are you looking at?* (*Animal's People* 58).

  Hey you, standing there like a fucking self-important person, what the fuck   are you looking at?

In (c) and (d) the Hindi word *yaar* is fairly similar to English word 'mate'. The switched word is not a unique constituent of the matrix but it is only reinforcement through proxy word. In (e) and (f) the switched word *chappatis* or *chapattis*, (as both the writers use different spellings) does not seem to comply with rules to the supposed matrix constituent because it is 'bread' that is an uncountable noun and can not receive the plural inflection.

- *I'm telling you, yaar, see fight club.* (*Animal's People* 60).

  I'm telling you, mate, see fight club

- *This is not a joke, yaar.* (*Gifted* 38)

  This is not a joke, mate.

- *You could leave some chappatis in a tiffin,* (*Animal's People* 28).

  You could leave some bread in a tiffin.

- *He had taken her out of the rich bustle of her world: interrupted the round stretchings of chapattis.* (*Gifted* 38)

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